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G. BAILEY, *Washington, D. C*

WASHINGTON, D. C.

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For the National Era

HERMAN;
OR,
YOUNG KNIGHTHOOD.

BY E. FOXTON,
Author of "Prémices."

CHAPTER XXVII—Continued.

He was surprised, and at first somewhat disconcerted, at finding himself a sick man. It interfered very much with his long-cherished plans, which had seemed to him upon the very eve of fulfilment—plans of winning a field of wide and happy usefulness for himself, and a pinnacle of prosperity on which to enthrone his lady-love. But, young as he was, he had already had experience enough to lead him to think that, whew God makes any great change in our condition, it is often less His purpose to make us suffer, even in this world, than to make us enjoy in some new way. Those are usually happy who are always willing to be happy after a fashion of His choosing. On such occasions Herman often said, "If I had not been shot by a Border Ruffian, remember, I should not have been taken pity on by a Sister of Charity."

His mind soon turned to the blessings of sickness; and from this chiefly Clara knew that he did consider himself a sick man, for to her he talked a little of the blessings, though not of the sickness. She was sitting beside him in the tent, with one of her hands in both of his, and with the other bathing his temples with Cologne; for he acknowledged that they ached, after Constance left him, forced away by a conspiracy between all the others to take a ride with Edward. Herman spoke then of "the perfect luxury of repose, stillness, and the care of those one loved. No well person could know it, except in infancy. It was one of the blessings of infancy, which only sickness could restore to maturity. Clara must be ill some time—a very little so, after she had cured him—that he might show her how very sweet it was. No one could be a thoroughly-trained physician, who had never needed one. This would be a good apprenticeship for him. He should be able to do twice as much good after it, as he had ever done before—as he ever could have done without it. Psyche, do you recollect how our Lord said to his Apostles, after they had been trying to do a little work for him, 'Come ye apart into the desert place, and rest a while?' It seems to me continually that, in this sickness, he is saying so to me. The thought that He or His Father has provided this retirement, this refreshment, and opportunity for quiet self-recollection, preparation, and communion with Him, before I go back to my work, is very soothing to me; one of the very sweetest drops in the cup of life, which God has mixed for me, is the thought that he had already planned all this rest and dear companionship and tender care for me—when I was—at the South—and it seemed, at times, so doubtful whether I should ever be one of you again. It would have been sad to be ill there; very sad to die."

He seldom inclined at this time to speak much of himself—never so fully as upon this occasion, and to her; but when he did so at all except to his physicians, to whom he gave simple technical statements, untinged by any sentiment of any kind—it was always hopefully. He talked when he had breath, with a kind of exhilaration, of church and state, the poor, the country, and the world—the world of letters, of religion, of science, and of art. Everything interested him that concerned his fellow men." "There was so much to be done! and he should soon be able to do so much!"

How often are such prophecies heard from fading young lips, in silent anguish, or reported afterwards, by those more distant relatives and friends who can console each other by repeating them to one another, with shakes of the head and interjections of "Ah, poor fellow! How little he knows!" But who does know? or can? Is it so certainly the prophets, who are deceived? by ourselves? May not these predictions spring from the felt stirrings within them of the might—from the dawning foresight within them—of their near immortality? Very bitter it is to stand by and listen to such utterances from the tongues of those whose goal we have already left away, useless to God and man—for whom we can only hope against hope, that their career in the other world may prove to be the utter contradiction and refutation of every sign and omen of their career in this—to whom an honorable, noble, and holy course amongst breathing men has become forever an impossibility, and who have not time left on earth for reformation—that stamp of reputation which angels can prove to coin genuine and current, and not the mere base counterfeit of fright, impotence, and shame. Bitter enough it still is to listen to such predictions, when the life of the speaker has been so fully, beautifully true, and we are persuaded that neither death, nor angels, nor principalities, nor things present nor things to come, nor height nor depth, nor any creature, can ever separate it from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord—yet know not how our own life can live on without it, and know that it is passing away.

As was natural, those most constantly about Herman saw the change in him less than those who saw him rarely; and how true, how beautiful, how, they did not say to one another, and scarcely, perhaps, owned to themselves. Edward was one of those men, who, if they had a party of ladies to conduct across a ground undermined—with a mine in it—to set fire to at the match—would do so with cheerfulness and *bonhoumie* to the last possible moment, *keeping step*, and talking of the last new opera. Clara, though she had not quite broken loose from the beautiful theories—she would not have, now that Clara Arden without them—was never now blinded by them to the sufferings or situation of those about her; but her temperament and sympathies always excited in hope the best; and Constance's spirit, always excitable, had not yet exhausted the reaction of ecstacy and thankfulness which Herman's return had produced, after the misery of his imprisonment. She was romantic still; and romantic people always fancy that the story of their life, like any story of fiction, must of necessity culminate to some unchangeable climax of bliss or woe. During Herman's absence, she was convinced that he could not be ill, and that much upon his return, the former. But this our transitory life is itself a series of transitions. There is in it much joy, but little unchanging joy; and much sorrow, but little unchanging sorrow.

It is probable, however, that before the end of the month of August, they all began to fear that Herman's vigor might never be restored, and that he must resign himself to lead henceforth only the life of an invalid. For, the next time that Dr. Lovel came to see him, he asked the girls, with some solicitude, after he left him, what they thought of him; Constance, her face quite haggard with expectation, waited for Clara to answer; and Clara said, gently, "We think he is not yet looking so well as we hoped he would; but that the cold weather may do more for him."

The color flushed over Constance's cheek and brow. The cold must, indeed, be bad upon much of her during Herman's absence, and become very fond of her, looked wistfully at her, as if he longed to comfort her. "How peaceful he seems, my dear," said he; "how free from any kind of suffering!"

"The peace is with him," said Constance; "the pain—where it should be!" and she abruptly left the room. Recollecting herself, notwithstanding, she presently came back and went up to him, though with her handkerchief at her eyes. "Forgive me," whispered she; "thank you. Don't think me ungrateful because I cannot talk about it yet. It is so dreadful to think that I may have cut him off from all the good that he would have been so happy in doing—perhaps for his whole life—and then to have them all so forgiving and so kind and good to me! But I know that he will be very happy still, in other ways; and so shall I—in helping him to be so—after we have got over our first disappointment. His loss will be my gain, for now I shall always have him with me. It is such a blessing to have him to take care of. Come again and talk with me, when I can behave better."

She struggled with herself, gave him a sweet and grateful though tearful look, and again left the room.

"Poor child!" said the old clergyman, "poor dear child!" but he said no more.

Dr. Brodie was the last physician consulted. He returned from Europe near the end of September, and was summoned at once. Herman had an interview of an hour with him within closed doors. Edward met him in the passage when he came out, and was about to question him; but he only cried, "Poor lad! poor lad!" shook hands hastily, pushed by him, sprung into his gig, refusing all offers of hospitality, and drove off without seeing Constance or Clara.

All the rest of that day, Herman, exhausted, lay like a dead man, his hands folded on his breast, his fixed white face upturned, and eyelids closed. He was looking into his own tomb. It looked somewhat black to him, as it is wont to do when it gapes suddenly for the onward fort of a man young, and rich in happiness, hope, and promise, until his eyes become accustomed to it. He did not sleep a great deal through the night, but still lay quietly, and Edward, who had shared his chamber since his weakness had increased, thought he perceived, by the uncertain glimmer of the night lamp, whenever he awoke, that his brother's lips were moving silently, as if in prayer.

The next morning, after breakfast, spoke cheerfully, rose, and dressed as usual. When he had sent the two girls out to walk, as he did every day, he rolled his easy-chair up to a large old-fashioned sea-chest, which, to his high delight, had been given him by a mariner, when he first came to the farm-house as a child. Herman was always a creature of observances; and it had been his whim to lay up here some characteristic token of every one of his afterwards nearly pilgrimages to the sea-shore. There was throughout in him, as there always is in full and complete natures, a remarkable mixture of youth and age. He had been, as soon as he had a fair shape to be so, a manly child. He was a child-like man.

The key of the chest was on his split-ring. He unlocked and opened it, while Edward stood beside him, and took out the dated relics, one by one, resting gently on his knee almost upon it before I came out, and came out on purpose but the weather, and the day, and the delight of being on the water once more with you, in the air and sunshine, put everything else out of my head."

Rose Rock was, at high tide, an island about forty feet long; at low water, a peninsula. The sides were hung with dripping sea-weeds; but on the top there was a sprinkling of thin and broken turf, which seemed to have grown

then saw the missing party away up on the side of the mountain, and entirely cut off from us by the Indians, who were also endeavoring to cut us off from the mouth of the Canon. The wounded men hastened on, while we tarried behind as a rear guard. I, again, was the last one to leave the plateau; and, as I crossed the ravine, I saw Ward running down it, and three Indians close on him. I had obtained a five shooter of one of the Mexicans, and running forward to meet him, I fired a shot with my left hand, killing one Indian, and causing the other two to halt. But they were soon re-enforced, and we had a continual running fight of it to the mouth of the Canon. They did not follow us any further. We reached camp with ten men out of twenty-two. Stamper was killed in the Canon.

We moved camp further out and on levelled ground, where we waited until the afternoon; but, getting no tidings of the missing men, we took up the march, and as soon as we struck the Fort Bliss and Fort Staunton road, we sent two men off to Fort Fillmore, after Dr. Cooper and an ambulance. We moved forward as rapidly as we could towards Fort Bliss until nearly daylight, when we halted, and took a short nap, without water. About two hours after sunrise, we roused ourselves, and moved forward about three miles, where we found good water, and halted to break our long fast. We were just taking breakfast, when one of Sergeant De Laney's party was seen approaching. He informed us that the rest of the party were about seven miles back. We sent them horses to them. They had gone over the mountain, the Indians following them, until many of their number were made to bite the dust, by the unerring rifles.

After a few hours' rest and grazing of horses, we resumed our homeward march. At the forks of the Fort Bliss and Fort Fillmore road, we met Dr. Cooper and the ambulance, which encamped for the night. The Doctor dressed our wounds, and did all in his power to make us comfortable. We had a good night's rest, and, like Sancho Panza, blessed the man who first invented sleep. The next morning we took an early start. The ambulance took the worst wounded men, and hurried on into the Fort. For my part, I preferred riding my horse, and giving my assistance seat to another man. What with riding bareheaded beneath a broiling sun, (the sun shines very hot here, even in winter,) excessive fatigue, and a bleeding wound, I suffered excruciatingly.

Once more we camped—this time by a beautiful group of fine springs of pure cool water. We drank deep potations, and fervently thanked God for blessing us with such a treat.

About midnight, Bennet, whom we had supposed among the killed, came into camp. He had given out, while trying to follow the Sergeant, and hid in the bushes until dark, when he came down the Canon. He saw poor Stamper lying in the Canon, stripped, horribly mutilated, but not scalped. The Indians had a large encampment at the entrance, and two tall fellows were walking past. Bennet got into the water, and stole by them. He had walked one hundred and twenty miles, without tasting a mouthful for three days and four nights.

It has been a long time since I have been so rejoiced to see comfortable quarters as I was on our return to Fort Bliss. And God grant that "Uncle Sam" will soon find it necessary on occasion to chastise thieving Indians, unless he can afford more men and better pay for such service."

The writer of the foregoing is yet a young man, being only twenty-six years of age, but his manhood has been spent in the service of his country. He first entered the army as a volunteer, during the Mexican war, and was engaged in several hard-fought battles. Since that time, he has been engaged in traversing the vast plains of the West and roaming over the mountains. Many are the Indian fights he has been engaged in, as his many scars will attest.

Some portions of his narrative may appear pretty *tough* to some of your readers; but I can vouch for his veracity. The power of endurance in the hardy pioneer soldiers, inured to all kinds of hardships, is such that they can undergo three times as much physical suffering and privation as would kill most of your civilians, uninitiated in the mysteries of frontier life. It is not an unusual thing for a poor soldier, on a scout, to go sixty-four hours without a drop of water, and sometimes without food. All this, and more too, the American soldier is expected to do and endure, for the sum of *eleven and twelve dollars per month!* And yet, when the Government Treasury begins to get low, through the profligacy of a Federal Administration, or the dishonesty of Government paymasters, the first place to commence retrenchment is in the army, and the poor soldier is the first to feel

twelve dollars per month! And yet, when the Government Treasury begins to get low, through the profligacy of a Federal Administration, or the dishonesty of Government paymasters, the first place to commence retrenchment is in the army, and the poor soldier is the first to feel the depression of public funds. Men calling themselves statesmen, and voting themselves eight dollars per day, are found to join in the hue and cry against the awful expenses of the army. And some have even gone so far as to taunt against the soldiers, calling them the fiends of humanity, the sworn enemies of peace in the Government hive, and other hard names. If some thieving favorite gets an army contract, or robs the Government of a cool quarter million, the poor soldier is blamed, and ought to have his pay and rations curtailed forthwith.

Some unsophisticated reader may ask: "Does not the American soldier gain honor and glory?" Oh, yes, *somebody* gains honor and glory. Republics are grateful and easy. The great and glorious republican country, the freest on earth, (*à la Fourth of July.*) Of course, she dispenses her honors with an impartial hand. She has a glorious Military Academy at West Point, on the banks of the Hudson, (let no invidious wretch slander that glorious institution by suggesting that it is the hot-bed of American aristocracy,) where she educates young men in the noble art of war. These young men, on graduating, are sent out West, and take command of a number of men well trained in the arts of fighting Indians and starving, at the rate of *twelve dollars per month*, and, with these men, they soon find themselves crowned with laurel-wreaths of glory.

But the *common soldier* is supposed to be a very modest creature, without aspirations above bean soup and twelve dollars per month.

I am not one of those who advocate a large standing army, maintained at a great expense; but I do think the American army should be efficient for practical purposes, and better paid and treated than that of any other country.

In my peregrinations through the frontier countries, I often came in contact with these soldiers, and, feeling a sympathy for their neglected position, I could not help offering a word in their behalf.

Those who enjoy all the comforts and luxuries of civil life probably never think that there is a class of men, protecting their western frontiers, who are continually enacting as much morsl and military heroism as ever poets sang or historians wrote.

Read the following lines, written by my friend, F. W. R., himself a soldier. O. C.

For the National Era

"Dream they of This?"—the Glad and the Gay?"

Aye! Dream they of this? When the hot burning sun
Sends down on the soldier his withering ray;
When, thirsty and weary, nerves knapsack and gun,
He thoughts wander back to the gland and the gay?

Dream they of this? When chilly and wet,
He body and soul pining slowly away;
The cold and damp ground is the most miserable bed,
When in feathers are bedded the glad and the gay?

Dream they of this? When the battle-cry sounds,
And he dies on the field from his home far away—
His comrades consigning—with three friendly *rounds*—
To the grave, him, who once was like them—glad and gay?

Dream they of this? That a stare covered mound
And its inmate are left to the worm as a prey;
That one lies forgotten far off from the ground
He died for so bravely. Dream they this, who are gay

Dream they of this? That a mother is weeping
Alone in her chamber, where Grief found the way?
Who, placing in memory in His holy keeping,
With sadness looks down on the glad and the gay?

F. W. R

Senator Sumner writes to a friend in Columbus, Ohio: "I am just from Turin, where I saw something of the Count de Cavour, the great Minister, who is organizing the mighty struggle. He does not doubt the result. To my inquiry, he told me that he hoped to drive the Austrians out of Italy this summer. I find him full of calmness and courage. This I met also in the society of the place. The ladies were all engaged in making lint for the wounded soldiers. In their character they remind me of Roman matrons. In Paris all agree that this is a most important moment in history; nothing like it since 1815."

The following gentlemen are recredited agents for the Era: G. W. Light, Boston, Mass.; J. A. Innis, Salem Mass.; Thomas Wheeler, Cincinnati, Ohio; L. T. Park, Mount Union, Ohio; Joseph Hughes, Philadelphia, Pa.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, JUNE 30, 1859.

OBITUARY.

It becomes our painful duty to announce the death of Dr. Gamaliel Bailey, Editor and Proprietor of the *National Era*. His last communication to its subscribers informed them that he was about sailing for Europe, to restore, if possible, his shattered health by a brief rest from his usual labors. He died the 5th of June, on his way out.

Thirteen years of intercourse as Editor and readers of the *Era*, render unnecessary further expression on our part than is to be found in this brief announcement. The sympathies of our subscribers will be awakened in behalf of the bereaved family, who saw their only protector and support depart, sustained in their grief by the fond hope that in a few months he would return again, restored to health. They had a right to such hope. Dr. Bailey was yet young, and possessed originally an iron constitution.

As yet, our only account of his last hours is to be found in the following letter, written by Mr. H. J. Raymond, editor of the New York *Times*, and addressed to that journal. This feeling tribute to the memory of Dr. Bailey is appreciated by his bereaved family and immediate circle of friends.

Mr. Raymond informs us that Marcellus, son of Dr. Bailey, will return with the remains of his father on the Vanderbilt, which sails from Havre the 22d of this month, and is due in New York the 2d of July.

Death of Dr. Bailey.

Editorial Correspondence of the N. Y. Times

STEAMER ARAGO, OFF SOUTHAMPTON,
Thursday, June 9, 1859.

I have sad news for my first letter. Dr. Bailey, the well-known editor of the *National Era* at Washington, died on board the Arago on Sunday last, at a little past 3 o'clock in the afternoon. He came on board an invalid, and was hoping that relief from toil and change of scene would restore the strength and vigor which the excessive and strenuous labors of his profession had greatly impaired. I had known, sometime before leaving New York, that he was ill, but was surprised to find, as I saw him sitting upon deck just after passing Quarantine, how thin and pale and feeble he looked. He gathered from his conversation that he did not consider himself to be seriously ill—at least, that his lungs were not affected—but that a long-continued dyspepsia, and the nervous excitement which his labors had induced, had combined to bring about the weakness under which he suffered. For the first two or three days, he was upon deck for the greater part of the time. The weather was fresh, and unpleasantly cold, and the sea not rough enough on occasion any considerable discomfort. The motion, however, affected him disagreeably. He slept badly; had no appetite, and could relish nothing but a little fruit now and then. His eldest son was with him, and attended upon him with all a son's fond solicitude. Except myself, I do not think he had another acquaintance on board. He was cheerful, social, and interested with interest of everything connected with public affairs, at home and abroad. He suffered some inconvenience from the fact that his room was below, and that he could only reach it by descending two pairs of stairs. We occasionally made a couch of cushions for him upon deck, when he became fatigued; but this made him too conspicuous for his taste, and he seemed uneasily fearful of attracting attention to himself as an invalid.

After Tuesday, the sea became remarkably smooth, and so continued to the end of the voyage. But it brought him no relief; his strength failed with failing appetite, and on Thursday, from saying too long upon deck, he took cold, which kept him in his berth all day. Other wise no seemed about as usual, through that day and Saturday—and on Sunday morning seemed even better, saying that he had slept somewhat, and felt strengthened and refreshed. He took some breakfast at noonment, and attempted to get up from his berth without assistance; the effort was too much for him, and his son, who had left the room at his request, but stood at the door, saw him fall as he attempted to stand. He at once went in, raised him, and laid him upon the couch. Seeing that he was greatly distressed in breathing, he went immediately for Dr. Smith, the surgeon of the ship. He found the symptoms of the last father's condition, went at once to his room. He found him wholly unconscious, breathing with difficulty, but perfectly quiet, and seemingly asleep. Drs. Beadle and Dubois were present, and had endeavored to give him brandy, but he was unable to swallow, and it was evident that he was dying. He continued in this state for about half an hour; his breathing became slower and slower, until finally it ceased altogether, and that was all! Death came without a muscle, not a spasm or a tremor of any kind, betrayed the moment when the spirit took its departure. An infant, wearied with play on a summer's eve, could not have fallen asleep more gently. His remains were placed in ice, and taken to Havre, from whence they will be returned to New York by the Vanderbilt, which leaves on the 18th inst.

Though his illness has been a matter of public knowledge for some months, his death, I suspect, will take the community by surprise. It will certainly be very deeply regretted far beyond the large circle of his family connection and personal friends. He was a native of New Jersey, but passed his early life in Philadelphia, where he received his education. He graduated at the Medical College in that city, and soon after removed to Ohio; but the profession had little charm for him, and he never entered upon its active duties. His taste led him rather to the study of social science in its various branches, and for the last few years, if not for one or more, he has wielded a very important and influential relation to the political affairs of the country. During the thirteen years of his residence at Washington, in the editorial conduct of the *National Era*, he has established a reputation for firm adherence to principle, combined with a prudent regard for practical results, which had secured the confidence of the largest and wisest portion of the Anti-Slavery men of the country. He believed Slavery to be a great political and social disease, and a political blunder, and directed all his energies to its extirpation. But the means by which he proposed to underrate the practical difficulties with which the question was surrounded, nor did he ever fall into the mistake of headlong zealots, and try to make denunciation do the work of argument and persuasion. The fact that he established a popular and influential Anti-Slavery newspaper at Washington—to those who appreciate the influences that prevail there—affords conclusive proof of the practical sagacity and the wise temper which presided over his performance of duty. And it is not a little remarkable that the tone of party men, in any respect nor to any extent, he thought for himself, and acted upon his own convictions—not obstinately, nor with any disposition to underrate the importance of co-operation with them, but with a manly keeping. So long as they sought noble ends by worthy means, and holding all personal aspirations and all party aims steadily subordinate to the triumph of principle, and the promotion of the public good. He has acted with the true spirit of a Republican party, but no dictation of its caucuses, and no ambition of its leaders, could ever induce him to support movements which his own judgment did not approve. He was distinct the Crittenden amendment to the Compton bill, although eminent Anti-Slavery leaders deemed it as a pledge to admit, eventually, slave States into the Union; and he advocated the admission of Oregon, though a majority of the Republicans in Congress voted and voted against it; and so on every point of public policy. While deferential always to the advice of those for whose opinions he had respect, he permitted none to overbear his judgment or control his action. The country has great need of such men, and, on account of their comparative rarity in public life, Dr. Bailey will be missed the more.

There is a very large literary circle, also, in which the grief for his death will be profound and sincere. The literary department of the *National Era* has always been one of its prominent features, and has contributed very largely to its success. Dr. Bailey himself always maintained an active supervision over it, and gave it the character for vigor, freshness, and good taste, by which it has always been distinguished. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* first appeared in its columns. Mrs. Southworth was first introduced to the public through its agency, and John G. Whittier and other well-known authors have been regular contributors to its pages. Without any special pretensions to literary eminence himself, Dr. Bailey was a clear, strong, and intelligent writer—a man of fine education and highly-cultivated taste, and gifted with a quick appreciation of merit in whatever writings were submitted to his inspection.

In person he was rather under the medium height, and slightly built—with the air of a student rather than of active action, and with the manners of one who shunned rather than courted the notice of the world at large. His conversation was easy, and always agreeable, turning upon events rather than books, and indicating a refined taste, and gifted with a quick appreciation of the conduct and motives of public men.

Not the least afflicting circumstance of his decease is the fact that he leaves a wife and six children to mourn his departure. His eldest son was the only one of his family he took with him; but everything possible was done for him; his life, in all probability, could not have been prolonged had he remained at home, and his death was as happy as could possibly have been, had it occurred in the midst of those whom he loved. There is something desolate and cheerless in the thought of a friend's dying at sea—but this is more perhaps in imagination than in the reality. The anguish of surrounding friends certainly can bring no comfort to the parting soul—and the murmuring of the waves, as they break peacefully against the couch of the dying, is a more genial and appropriate dirge than any of frantic and the hum of business which disturb the last moments of one who dies in the heart of a great metropolis. H. J. R.

The New York *Evening Post* contains the following brief sketch of his career:

From the New York Evening Post

DEATH OF DR. BAILEY, EDITOR OF THE NATIONAL ERA.

Dr. Gamaliel Bailey, editor of the *National Era*, died at sea, on board the steamer Arago bound for Havre, on the 5th of the present month. Dr. Bailey had for some years been suffering from chronic dyspepsia, which had so enfeebled his system that on the 28th of May he left the United States, in company with his eldest son, to regain his health by a tour in Europe.

The main incidents in Dr. Bailey's life are thus summed up:

He was born at Mount Holly, N. J., in 1807; studied medicine in Philadelphia, and took his degree in 1828. After serving as ship's physician on a trip to China, he commenced his career in journalism in Baltimore as the editor of the *Philanthropist*, a Methodist Protestant. In 1831, he removed to Cincinnati, where he was appointed physician to the Cholera Hospital during the prevalence of that epidemic. In 1836, he joined the late James G. Birney in the publication of the *Philanthropist*, a Liberty party paper, at Cincinnati. His paper met the usual fate of all Anti-Slavery journals in those times, his press and printing office being destroyed by a mob. Mr. Birney withdrew from the paper in 1837, and was supported by the *Philanthropist* for the Presidency in 1840. Dr. Bailey continued the publication of his paper till 1847, when it was merged in the *National Era*, the Liberty paper published at Washington by the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, of which Dr. Bailey was chosen editor, with John G. Whittier as corresponding editor. In 1848, he purchased the paper from the Society, and continued its publication on his own account.

As an editor, though by no means violent, he was quite too plain-spoken to suit the moderation of Washington, and the mob decided to destroy his press. His office was besieged for two or three days, but he was not driven from his post. In 1856, Dr. Bailey supported Fremont, and has since supported the Republican party. His paper has maintained a high literary character, and has given Mrs. Stowe's story of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* to the world. A number of authors of note in American literature first attained reputation through the encouragement of Dr. Bailey.

Dr. Bailey has made a void in American journalism and in the political world, which cannot be filled. He was a man of great moderation of temperament, and acted for the comprehensiveness, sagacity, and fairness, with which he discussed political questions of interest. On the subject of the relations of Slavery with the General Government, his thorough and lucid articles were of peculiar value, and gave republicanism in a permanent form. Added to his high and pure personal character, and qualities of his style, Dr. Bailey possessed a manifest sincerity of purpose, and a tenacious integrity, which made him an invaluable correspondent of the constituencies of the party of which he was a leader, and which owed its vast and rapid increase from small beginnings in no small degree to his judicious and untiring labors.

Dr. Bailey through the prominence of his journal as an organ of Republicanism had of late somewhat diminished, still continued to lead the nucleus of the party—the stern, uncompromising Anti-Slavery men who had fought from the beginning, and who advocated Slavery to its present ascendency in almost all the three States. They trusted the Doctor implicitly, for they never knew him to lose sight of the great principles for which they had so heroically contended, and he was the soul of the active and energetic element into the services of the Republican organization.

Dr. Bailey was a man of much refinement and culture, and drew around him persons of kindred tendencies. The hospitality of himself and his accomplished wife formed one of the most agreeable attractions of Washington society, and his Saturday evening reunions were occasions of peculiar distinction in literary and political circles than even the ambitions receptions of the President and the Cabinet.

Dr. Bailey leaves a wife and six children.

ABOVE SUSPICION.—The President's organ is seized with a paroxysm of indignation at the bare thought that the President could be suspected of wanting a thirty million appropriation for the purpose of using it to influence elections. The *Constitution* says:

"We can hardly conceive anything more unjustly ignorant and absurd, if not wilfully and deliberately false, than the reasoning by which it is sought to sustain this objection. There is certainly no necessity that any advocate of Mr. Buchanan's Cuban policy, in addressing the American people, who know and appreciate the high moral worth and unsullied reputation of the President—a long life of faithful and patriotic public service, they elevated to the highest office in their gift, should condescend to prove that, were the entire wealth of the Republic placed at his absolute disposal, he would not employ one dollar or any selfish or unworthy purpose, one dollar or one cent of the money. We should disgrace ourselves, and insult our readers, were we to consider for a moment the objections of his opponents as requiring to him personally; but, with regard to the broad assertion that to appropriate such a sum as was proposed in Senator Slidell's bill, and place it at the disposal of the Executive for a single year, would be to hazard the people's money, and take it out of all the safeguards which surround it in the Treasury of the United States, we repeat that, if it be not intentionally false and designed to mislead, it is stupid ignorance and absurdity.

"The independent and disinterested organ of the President is but a few weeks old; and its astonishment at such hints of official corruption as it alludes to is quite natural. But if its conductors will consult the files of its predecessor, from whose ashes, Phœnix-like, it has sprung, it will find more than one ugly record upon which the public have acquired the habit of suspecting the integrity of Democratic officials. The *Constitution* may as well make up its mind that the thirty million bill will never become a law, and mainly for the reason that the American people indulge a violent suspicion it would be used in great part at home for the corruption of politicians, and to carry the Presidential election in favor of the party in power.

SECRET HISTORY OF THE MARYLAND SLAVEHOLDERS' CONVENTION.

The whole country, North and South, was surprised at the result of the late Slaveholders' Convention in Baltimore—a result the very reverse of what was expected and intended. Those who have given attention to Maryland affairs are aware that the Convention was called together by meetings in the lower counties, in which the worst spirit of negro-hating and Slavery propagandism prevailed. These primary meetings had adopted resolutions of the most violent and cruel nature, demanding the expulsion of the free negroes from the State, or their sale into Slavery. It was insisted that one or the other of these monstrous measures was absolutely necessary to the security of slave property and the safety of Maryland. A general Convention was called, to meet in Baltimore, and delegates were elected by the slaveholders, or appointed by some body, or self-constituted, in each of the counties. They assembled at the time and place appointed, and the result of their proceedings we recorded two weeks ago. It will be recollected that, so far from recommending the expulsion or sale of the free colored people, they declared, *unanimously*, that the labors of that class in the field and the domestic service were indispensable to the people of Maryland! They with equal unanimity resolved, that nearly fifty per cent. of the labor performed in the State by the black race fell to the share of those who are free; thus admitting that their services are at least equal to those of slaves.

These unanimous resolutions of a slaveholders' or anti-free-negro Convention, which have been aptly compared to the prophecy of Balaam, was not the result of mere whim, or eccentricity. On the contrary, they proceeded from the better information which the delegates acquired on arriving in Baltimore.

We learn, on good authority, that the Convention was mainly in the interest of the Sham Democracy, and that tenderness for the welfare of that "Southern institution," as well as for Slavery itself, restrained the majority, when appealed to by the cooler heads, to desist from the purpose which called them together. The members from the large slaveholding counties, with the fatuity and arrogance which is characteristic of the class, would have adopted the most ultra measures. They would have recommended the expulsion or sale of the free negroes, without the least regard for justice or humanity; but such men as James A. Pearce, an intelligent and cool-headed man, appealed to them in this wise: "There are eighty thousand free negroes in Maryland. They are employed in the country by the small farmers, who are unable to buy slaves, and in the city of Baltimore and other towns, as domestic servants. You propose to drive them from the State; but how do you propose to supply their places? Would you precipitate the introduction of eighty thousand Germans and Irish, to be added to the Free-Soil interest, which is even now threatening every year to manifest itself?" This appeal fell with great force upon the minds of the rabid but unsophisticated country gentry; and the fact that it never once occurred to them until they arrived in Baltimore, shows the deplorable ignorance of the outer world which prevails amid the Chinese seclusion of Slavery. They staggered under the weight of this new idea; and they were completely floored when the same cool-headed gentlemen proceeded to inoculate them with another; for, continued they, "you must also reflect, that an effort to drive the free negroes from the State will not only revolt the moral sense of Maryland and of the whole North, but, what is equally material to you, it will arouse the stern opposition of the aforesaid class of non-slaveholding employers of these free negroes. By your selfish regard for Slavery, to the exclusion of all other interests, you force this class, far more numerous than yours, into the ranks of the Free-Soilers. They will demand eman cipation, and you will in vain resist a demand which is enforced by the real and fancied material welfare of the whole body of the people who are not slaveholders."

These arguments brought the propagandists to their senses; and, Balaam-like, they prophesied for the free negroes, instead of against them.

We regard this abortive movement of the Maryland slaveholders as a highly important sign of the times. It shows the decrepitude of Slavery in the border slave State, and we may in a future expect to see the spirit of Freedom arising as Slavery recedes. There were 417,943 white people in Maryland in 1850, and of this number only 16,040 were slaveholders. Allowing that each slaveholder had five in family, there would be eighty thousand people of all ages interested in upholding Slavery. This is less than one-fifth of the white population. So that four-fifths of the free white people of Maryland have no earthly interest in upholding Slavery; and there can be no shadow of doubt, with any intelligent man, that the real estate owned by this class would be greatly augmented by the removal of Slavery; and that their commerce and business would increase in equal proportion. They are beginning to find out these important facts; and the recent breakdown of the Slavery party, by confessing their weakness, will embolden the non-slaveholders to assert their views.

We have given above the figures of the census of 1850. At the present moment, the relative weakness of Slavery would appear more conspicuous if a new census were taken. The result of the enumeration next year will exhibit Slavery in a condition of hopeless decrepitude. The city of Baltimore, which in 1850 had less than one hundred and seventy thousand, will have added quite a hundred thousand to its population; the northern line of counties will have increased in like proportion; while the slave population will be in all probability less by thousands than under the census of 1850. Slavery has nearly ceased to exist in the counties bordering on Pennsylvania and Delaware; and the habits of the people are becoming assimilated to those of a non-slaveholding people. The day is not far off when the Anti-Slavery spirit will break forth with far more spirit in Maryland than it exhibits in Missouri. Public opinion is gradually ripening for the revolution. There were in 1850 only 90,000 slaves in a total population of 583,000, or less than one in six. Next year, the slaves will not exceed an eighth of the total population. Everything conspires to break down the system. The demand for slave labor increases in the South, tempting the slaveholders to sell, or to emigrate; while the politics for the escape of fugitive slaves, and the frequency of those escapes, admonishes the slaveholders to the adoption of one or the other of these alternatives. These causes will probably continue to operate with accelerating force, unless, indeed, the European war shall seriously impair the value of slaves by breaking down the price of cotton. In the latter case, the temptation to send slaves to the Southern market will be removed, but at the same time they will cease to be worth keeping—a circumstance equally fatal to the perpetuity of the system.

Nothing but party drill prevents an outbreak of Free-Soilism in Maryland. Both of the old parties have the elements of the new organization in their ranks; and circumstances have conspired to keep them balanced against each other. The chief element in the American party is the native-born working classes. These, co operating with the foreign-born population, which is permitted to hew wood and draw water for the Shan Democracy, would constitute an irresistible party of Freedom. Their interests are identical, and equally opposed to Slavery; but demagogues have managed to get up a seemingly implacable feud between these legitimate elements of a true people's party, and thus played one against the other, by adroit managers, who are for the most part slaveholders, their weight upon society is neutralized, and Slavery continues to rule everything. In St. Louis an analogous state of things has existed, but freedom of discussion is gradually enlightening "the home and siuew" of each of the old parties, and bringing them together in a compact host of freemen.

It would be comparatively easy to bring about a similar state of things in Baltimore and in Maryland. The people are ready. They want a leader, a man of capacity, courage, and constancy. We were assured by one of the most distinguished speakers in the late Slaveholders' Convention, that any man of talent and character who should raise the standard of emancipation would find the people flocking to it by thousands.

IMPORTANT LETTER FROM JUDGE DOUGLAS.

The following letter from Judge Douglas, defining his position in reference to the Charleston nomination for the Presidency, made its appearance in the *National Intelligencer* and Baltimore *Sun* on the 24th. It will be seen that the Illinois Senator declares formal war against the favorite hobbies of Southern politicians, the protection of Slavery in the Territories by Congressional legislation, and the revival of the slave trade. He also declares that he will not submit to the interpolation into the creed of the party "the doctrine that the Constitution of the United States either establishes or prohibits Slavery in the Territories, beyond the power of the people legally to control it as other property:"

WASHINGTON, *June* 22, 1859.

MY DEAR SIR: I have received your letter, inquiring whether my friends are at liberty to present my name to the Charleston Convention for the Presidential nomination. Before this question can be finally determined, it will be necessary to understand distinctly upon what issues the canvass is to be conducted. If, as I have full faith they will, the Democratic party shall determine in the Presidential election of 1860 to adhere to the principles embodied in the compromise measures of 1850, and ratified by the people in the Presidential election of 1852; and recognised in the Kansas and Nebraska act of 1854; and incorporated into the Cincinnati platform in 1856, as expounded by Mr. Buchanan in his letter accepting the nomination, and approved by the people in his election—in that event, my friends will be at liberty to present my name to the Convention, if they see proper to do so. If, on the contrary, it shall become the policy of the Democratic party to repudiate, and abandon, as repudiating these their time-honored principles, nor which we have achieved so many patriotic triumphs, and in lieu of them the Convention shall interpolate into the creed of the party such new issues as that of reviving the African slave trade, or a Congressional slave code for the Territories, or the doctrine that the Constitution of the United States either establishes or prohibits Slavery in the Territories, beyond the power of the people legally to control it as other property—it is due to candor to say that, in such an event, I could not accept the nomination, if tendered to me.

Trusting that this answer will be deemed sufficiently explicit, I am, very respectfully, your friend,

J. B. Dorr, Esq., Dubuque, Iowa. STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.

This looks very well, but we regretted to observe a dispatch in the Baltimore *Sun*, from this city, on the day following the publication of this letter, stating that Mr. Douglas, in a conversation with a Southern gentleman, explains that he will not flinch from the support of the nominees of the Charleston Convention, under any circumstances. If this statement from a friendly source can be relied upon, we are to understand Senator Douglas to this effect, viz: That he will not himself be the candidate of the party if they engraft upon their platform the obnoxious doctrines which he condemns in the above letter, but that he will co-operate in the election of men pledged to carry them into effect. He is opposed to a slave code and to the African slave trade, but he will give them his support, rather than quit the party.

It is a fact worth mentioniug in this connection, that in bringing this letter to the notice of the public, Mr. Douglas has *ignored* his whilom metropolitan organ, the *States*. The letter, as will be seen, was written on the 22d, and was furnished to the *Intelligencer*, a Whig paper, and to the Baltimore *Sun*, a professedly neutral paper, in each of which it appeared on the 24th, while the *States* of the previous evening was permitted to go to press without an intimation that this new beam of light had radiated from the great luminary of which it was supposed to be an humble satellite. On the 25th, the *States* acknowledges its indebtedness to another journal for a sight of the letter. It says:

"The following letter from Judge Douglas, defining his position in regard to the Charleston Convention, appears in the columns of the Baltimore *Sun* this morning."

The letter is inserted in the *States* without note or comment, a fact which it is fair to assume may be attributed to a want of sympathy with its sentiments.

Now that Judge Douglas begins to look northward for sympathy and support, he does well to disconnect himself from a journal which is intensely and rabidly Pro-Slavery. But it is singular that of three "Democratic" organs in Washington, not one of them was made the medium of the publication of this letter.

ANOTHER CASE.—Another case, which will serve to show that Judge Taney's maxim is becoming a practical fact in the District of Columbia, was reported in the local columns of the *National Intelligencer* on Friday last. The report says:

"Yesterday morning, Thomas C. Kirkley was put to trial on a charge of assault and battery with intent to kill a free negro boy, Charles H. Dent, by him hired and employed, in having, in the words of the indictment, 'inflicted upon the said Charles Dent a cruel and inhuman beating.' The defendant was found guilty of the assault and battery only. In passing sentence on Kirkley, the Judge went into some description of what he called the extreme atrocity of the offence charged. It appeared from the evidence that Dent, an indentured apprentice to traverser, had had his hands tied behind him, and in that condition was severely beaten with a cowhide. He was subsequently tied up by the neck with a rope, exhibited in court, and left for several hours, his feet barely touching the floor, in a state of great suffering. His cries at length reached the ears of neighbors, who came to his assistance, and most likely, as the Judge remarked, to save his life, they probably not far from extinct. The Judge further commented on a portion of the evidence adduced on the trial, that Kirkley had, by dint of threats and promises of reward, induced Dent by his service to assume the crime against Dent as his own, and, in fact, the youth did swear before a justice of the peace that it was he, and not Kirkley, who had injured Dent. Kirkley, therefore, added subornation of perjury to the crime of which he had been convicted. Under these circumstances, the Judge sentenced Kirkley to six-months imprisonment in the county jail, and to pay a fine of $20. The District Attorney prayed Kirkley in commitment till the fine shall be paid."

We have still another in the same issue of the *Intelligencer*, occurring under the Fugitive Slave act, but we reserve it until next week.

SLAVERY AS A MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE.

We had supposed that the champions of Slavery, discarding all sinister and selfish views, firmly planted themselves upon the Christian platform, and insisted that Slavery was instituted and upheld with a view to the reclamation of idolaters from the error of their ways. We are not now prepared to controvert this assumption; but from a practical treatise on the subject of "*Schooling for Negroes*," which we find in the *Southern Citizen*, we confess our inability to perceive clearly the entire adaptability of the means to the end. In the aforesaid treatise the proposition is laid down, that

"All reasonable and humane persons are in favor of instructing little negroes in all the accomplishments and habits and arts that negroes ought to know—namely, to hoe corn, to pick and gin cotton, to understand practically the treatment of sugar cane and tobacco, to obey their masters and overseers—together with such other branches of a liberal education as will readily suggest themselves to persons who have had to deal with niggers."

Our Irish apostle thus briefly sums up the "whole duty" of little niggers, and he proceeds to ridicule the idea of communicating to them any notion of "Mr. Buchauan's God." Whether the editor intends by this form of expression to intimate a doubt of the orthodox soundness of the President's faith, we are unable to say. It certainly looks that way. He says:

"What theory the President, or Hon. Howell Cobb, Secretary of the Treasury, may have formed with respect to the scholastic requirements of our colored brethren, we do not accurately know. We only know that about the meeting of the last session of Congress, our philanthropic Administration was all the while quietly and cheering hope, touching the good which might be done by sending the young Echo piccaninnies to college, and then letting them go forth over Africa, carrying the light of—*no-and-no*.

"Two especial ends were to be gained—one (the principal one, of course) was to do good, and make the piratical enterprise of the Echo an occasion—under the blessing of Mr. Buchanan's God—to diffuse the aforesaid light of so-and-so; the other was, to get as much money as possible out of Congress."

If the editor of the *Southern Citizen* were known to the world as a scoffing infidel, we could understand the above language; but as an advocate and apostle of the great missionary scheme for converting the heathen to Christianity, we have no right to question his piety. We must therefore understand him, in the excess of his zeal for the faith, as imputing to the President and Secretary of the Treasury the wicked purpose of attempting to ruin the "piccaninnies," body and soul, by infusing into their innocent minds heretical or idolatrous notions of God.

But, with all deference to the editor of the *Citizen*, we must be permitted to say, that his very simple scheme for the civilization and redemption of the negroes seems to our minds inadequate to the purpose. To know the mysteries of hoeing corn, hilling tobacco, and ginning cotton, is highly proper for little negroes, and we are aware that the editor has Scripture authority for inculcating "obedience to masters." But is this all? Is it not necessary that the negroes should also be taught to obey God, and even to obey God rather than man? How, then can they arrive at that state of Christian development, in which they can choose wisely to obey God, and obey Him rather than their masters, without the ability to read the Bible and other good books? In a word, without a study of the Scriptures and of ethics? We submit these questions to our neighbor of the *Citizen*, and ask him to ponder, and answer them on his responsibility as a Christian philanthropist, anxious for the salvation of poor heathen Africa.

ROTATION IN DIPLOMACY.

The Washington *States* demands the removal of Theodore S. Fay, as Chargé d'Affaires to Switzerland, and John Randolph Clay, who holds a similar position towards the Government of Peru, because they have been absent from the country thirty years, because Mr. Fay has strong Abolition affinities, because both have married foreign wives, and, we will add, last, but not least, because their places are needed by active and hungry champions of Negro Slavery. It says:

"When is Theodore S. Fay, the absentee of thirty years, to be recalled? If he is to remain at Berne longer as Minister, with his notorious Abolition proclivities, the office will, to a certainty, be abolished next winter. He had been abroad well nigh as twenty-five years when he was appointed. And John Randolph Clay—how much longer is he to remain in Peru? He, too, has been away from his country thirty years! The former of those functionaries has recently become the husband of a German lady—the latter some years ago was married to an English one. Each, no doubt, would regard our Government as 'mean and contemptible' should the notification here applied to him. We shall soon call attention to this matter again."

The European Courts, with whom the system of diplomacy originated, make it a point to train men from their youth up as diplomats, and they never dismiss a Minister, except for incompetency, neglect, or malfeasance. Ministers are sometimes recalled for having committed a blunder, or rendered themselves obnoxious to the foreign Governments near which they reside; but in such cases they are not dropped from the diplomatic service, unless their conduct has been conspicuously reprehensible.

If the system of diplomacy be good for anything, and if it be needful to keep it up at a cost of hundreds of thousands per annum, there can be no doubt that the European practice is wise. The system is founded on the assumption that the interests of the country require that we should have responsible and intelligent agents resident at foreign Courts, who may watch our interests, national and individual, and bring them properly to the notice of those Courts. To do this, we should employ educated gentlemen, who have enjoyed opportunities of learning the language and manners of the countries in which they are to reside. They should readily comprehend their history and policy, as well as the daily current of events. If our diplomats are not to be men of this stamp, we had better have none at all. The ignorant and incompetent demagogues who too often are appointed to such places, so far from being able to render essential service to their country, only bring it into contempt. They are selected, not with reference to their fitness for such situations, but with a view to a judicious distribution of the spoils; and the service they render is to degrade their country in the eyes of foreigners, who naturally, but fallaciously, conclude that America selects her best specimens of intelligence and refinement to represent her at foreign Courts.

The objection to the foreign matrimonial alliances of Messrs. Fay and Clay is one we part with the others. Who at this country was suspected the fidelity of Mr. Bodisco, or of his successor, Baron Stoeckel, or the French Minister, on account of their American wives? Russia is famed for her diplomacy; and yet it is said that her Government has rather encouraged than opposed such matrimonial alliances of her diplomats, as a measure of policy. A diplomatist who takes to wife a lady of the country in which he resides, pays the highest possible compliment to it, and acquires thereby a degree of personal influence which would otherwise be unattainable.

The foreign diplomatic service is peculiar. It requires a higher grade of education and accomplishment than perhaps any other sphere of public duty; and yet, by a singular perversion, it has been filled, in too many instances, by a class of men who would not be tolerated in the domestic Administration, where their conduct would be subjected to the daily scrutiny of the public.

There should be a reform in this department of the Government, or it should at once be entirely dispensed with, as worse than useless.

SENATOR BROWN ON THE ISSUES.

Senator A. G. Brown, of Mississippi, thus sums up the issues to be settled by the Presidential struggle in 1860:

"The main issues in the Presidential contest of 1860 will probably be the following:

"First, and most important to us, the question of Slavery in the Territories, with its concomitants of popular sovereignty—squatter

The Eclectic Magazine.

The *Eclectic Magazine* for July contains a fine picture—whether a fine likeness or not, we cannot say—of Victor Emanuel, the King of Sardinia. It is a bold, determined, open, honest face, and of itself well worth the price of the Magazine. An interesting, sketchy account of the far-famed Court of Weimar, indissolubly connected with the greatest names of Germany, derives additional interest from the recent demise of one its most noted celebrities, Humboldt, the last link, as it were, that bound the present with the past. An eloquent and generally just paper on the somewhat bewritten theme of womanhood and its mission, two articles on the aspects of Italy, and the great speech of Kossuth, combined, with several others, to make this number of a valuable monthly in no wise inferior to its predecessors.

Harper's Monthly Magazine.

Harper's Monthly leads off with an illustrated account of a journey in Canada—followed by another, sufficiently amusing, of scenes and adventures in that mythic land known as "John Brown's Tract"—a third, absolutely terrific in its relentless delineation of fleas—a pleasant New England, probably Connecticut, story, "Aceldama Sparks"—two articles on John Wesley, one in prose and one in verse—"The Death of Walter Butler," a ballad—"The Story of a Garter"—"A Man of Honor"—"A Midnight Adventure on Mount Cenis"—"In the Garden"—"The Virginians"—and the usual amount of wit and wisdom in the Editorial Department.

The Knickerbocker Magazine.

The *Knickerbocker* lays the scenes of its two illustrated articles in New York and California, continues the Romance of a Poor Young Man, provokes the unlearned with its "Deipnologica Variosa," to find ont the meaning of which you must read it yourself, and is as always fanciful, witty, gentle, and genial.

Littell's Living Age.

Littell's Living Age is adorned with a portrait of Jean Paul Richter, and a sketch of his life; reproduces "Weimar and its Celebrities;" "A Spiritual Subpœna;" "The Morals of Trade," which we strongly recommend to all our readers; "Aunt Mary;" "M. de Tocqueville;" various short articles and pieces of verse, both serious and comic.

The *Atlantic Monthly* for July opens with a racy historical retrospect of the old Federal and Democratic parties in the United States, under the title of "Thomas Paine's Second Appearance in the United States." The writer shows that the exasperation and ferocity of political warfare was even greater at that day than at the present. The *Atlantic* contains its usual variety of brilliant articles, interspersed with poems.

We are indebted to Taylor & Maury for *Blackwood's Magazine for June*. The first article, upon "Fleets and Navies," contains information peculiarly valuable at the present moment. The second, on "Lord Macaulay and Marlborough," is a caustic criticism upon the great historians. The article entitled "Review of a Review," is a curious sketch of the origin of journalism.

FUGITIVE SLAVES, FREE NEGROES, AND NATURALIZED CITIZENS.

The Sham Democracy, too late, have discovered that they cannot defend the rights of naturalized citizens without making palpable to the world their gross inconsistency in regard to Slavery. Accordingly, they now openly recant the position they assumed in 1853, in reference to the Koszta case, and turn their foreign-born friends over to the tender mercies of European despots, just as they turn over the fugitive slaves to the discipline of their Southern masters. It will be seen that the *States* places the rights of naturalized citizens upon a footing of equality with those of fugitive slaves:

From the Washington States of June 21.

THE RIGHTS OF CITIZENS AND SUBJECTS—WHETHER NATIVE OR NATURALIZED.

Whatever reputation Mr. Botts may have earned as a statesman has, assuredly, been ruinously damaged by his recent New York publication relative to the rights of naturalized citizens.

The amount of ignorance—for we are willing to suppose that it is ignorance rather than wilful design—that has manifested itself upon this subject, as expressed through the newspaper press, is positively marvellous.

In Prussia, every male child is born a soldier. The King has a claim upon him for a certain number of years of military duty, which is just as valid as the claim of a Virginian to a slave child for life is valid by the Constitution of the Union.

If a male quits his realm, at whatever age, without having discharged such duty, he is ever liable for its performance, either personally or by a substitute, upon re-entering the realm.

No obligations which he can take upon himself to another country, and no protection which such country can extend to him, can impair this claim, because it is of anterior existence.

For instance, if a male slave of Virginia—one of Mr. Botts's, for instance—were to escape from his owner, proceed to Prussia, there become a subject of the Crown, and subsequently return to Virginia, is it likely that he would be restored to Prussia upon the demand that he is a Prussian subject?

The notion is too absurd to be entertained by a rational being. Old Virginia would surrender her existence before she would surrender him.

The cases are identical. So long as the slave remained under the jurisdiction of Prussian law, or out of the confines of the United States, so long would his master be without a remedy for his wrong; and so long as the Prussian, who owns military service, remains in the United States, or without the confines of Prussia and the Germanic Confederation, so long is he secure from the exactions of the sovereign in whose realm he was born. * * *

The notorious Koszta letter, with all its vague ideas and extravagant absurdities, did not claim that Austria was not competent to decide what duties her former subject owed her, and what penalties she was authorized to inflict for the non-performance of such duties. * * *

Every country has its own system of prudential laws; and we are not in our line of duty in attempting to procure a modification of such system. The sovereign States of this Union, collectively, will not permit such interference with their different systems.

Prussia has as undoubted a right to ask us to abolish Slavery, as we have to ask her to abolish her requirement that males born within her limits shall invariably be held responsible, however long the lapse of time, for the performance of military duty, if they are to be found within her jurisdiction.

What reply should we make to Great Britain, were she to ask us to have the Constitution of Indiana so modified as to admit free negroes to reside in that State? * * *

But unfortunately a custom has prevailed, of recent years, of bidding high for the *naturalized* influence, and demagogism is always in search of an agitating question with which to secure it. Too often the Government is made, innocently, to pander to its selfish views. Look, for instance, at the Kossuth demonstration, and its consequent cost. * * *

In the inaugural of Gen. Pierce, it was stated, rather in a grandiloquent strain, we thought—pretty much in the same sense that Mr. Webster remarked in the Hülseman correspondence letter, that as compared with the United States, Austria was but as a patch on the earth's surface—that an American citizen could not wander so far from his home that he would not be followed by the American flag for his protection. This, with the letter of Mr. Marcy to Mr. Hulseman in relation to the case of Koszta, caused naturalized citizens, and foreigners who had declared their intentions to become such, to believe that they could go where they pleased, and do almost as they pleased, with impunity. But Mr. Pierce found out before one year of his term had expired that an American citizen could wander into foreign parts where the flag of the United States could avail him nothing, and Mr. Marcy was very careful never to certify, knowingly, that an *American citizen* meant a *foreigner* who had declared his intention to become such.

In their naturalization, the distinctiveness of nationality of foreigners should cease. They should fraternize with natives, instead of banding together as recent aliens, to use their united strength, understaudingly, in the interest of demagogues who may aspire to become their champions. They should regard the politician, who undertakes to magnify such rights as they secure in their citizenship, as the worst enemy to their welfare. No well-disposed native will willingly see them harmed, as long as they abstain from harming the country by becoming the tools of knaves. When, however, they shall become "mere clay in the potter's hands," and are led on to the consummation of mischief to the State, they will excite prejudices which may operate most disadvantageously upon their future. They owe it to the land of their adoption to be faithful to its Constitution and laws. The Government of that land, in return, owes them its protection as far as it does natives, except in cases where they are pre-committed to the allegiance to which they were born, when placing themselves within the sphere of the requisite legislation.

For instance, if a male slave of Virginia—one of Mr. Botts's, for instance—were to escape from his owner, proceed to Prussia, there become a subject of the Crown, and subsequently return to Virginia, is it likely that he would be restored to Prussia upon the demand that he is a Prussian subject?

The notion is too absurd to be entertained by a rational being. Old Virginia would surrender her existence before she would surrender him.

The cases are identical. So long as the slave remained under the jurisdiction of Prussian law, or out of the confines of the United States, so long would his master be without a remedy for his wrong; and so long as the Prussian, who owns military service, remains in the United States, or without the confines of Prussia and the Germanic Confederation, so long is he secure from the exactions of the sovereign in whose realm he was born. * * *

The notorious Koszta letter, with all its vague ideas and extravagant absurdities, did not claim that Austria was not competent to decide what duties her former subject owed her, and what penalties she was authorized to inflict for the non-performance of such duties. * * *

Every country has its own system of prudential laws; and we are not in our line of duty in attempting to procure a modification of such system. The sovereign States of this Union, collectively, will not permit such interference with their different systems.

Prussia has as undoubted a right to ask us to abolish Slavery, as we have to ask her to abolish her requirement that males born within her limits shall invariably be held responsible, however long the lapse of time, for the performance of military duty, if they are to be found within her jurisdiction.

What reply should we make to Great Britain, were she to ask us to have the Constitution of Indiana so modified as to admit free negroes to reside in that State? * * *

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Items Telegraphed from Washington.

Washington, June 23.—The opinion among gentlemen connected with diplomatic corps is, that although the Governments of Europe not engaged in the present hostilities are desirous of and hope for peace, the complications are so great that there is almost an impossibility of preventing a general war. In such an event, there is no doubt that Russia will array herself with France.

A report has for some time been current, that Commander Maury is to be detached from the National Observatory. Those best acquainted with the subject say, if this should take place, it would be with a view to place him in active service as a commander, in which capacity he has not served since his elevation to that rank, and that, without rendering such service, he would not be in the line of further promotion.

Capt. Harwood, Commander Dahlgreen, and Lieut. W. L. Maury, have been appointed by the Navy Department as a board to test such small fire arms as may be presented. The trial will commence to-morrow, at the Washington Arsenal.

FROM KANSAS.

Geary City, K. T., *June* 16, 1859.

To the Editor of the National Era:

The returns of the election for delegates to the Constitutional Convention are coming in slowly; but enough have already been received, not only to insure a Republican majority in that body, but to prove that the strength of the party is fully sustained under the new organization. Even in this county (Lecompton), in which we always conceded to the "Democrats" a large proportion of the Free-State vote, the Republicans have succeeded in electing a part of their ticket.

Squatter sovereignty is quite popular here, and has become part of our creed. But the Anti-Slavery sentiment of the party is so strong, that should the National Convention next year see fit to remain the old ground of prohibition by Congress, it would not materially impair our strength.

The Homestead bill is the card upon which we play with most success. The squatters of Kansas are so enchanted by its melody, that, should either national party become its political champion, while the other opposes it, its persuasive strains would, like the harp of Apollo, entice the very rocks to its Trojan fortress, and bounce the dominant party at last. In all parties unite in the desire to organize the State! We are tired of Executive control, and the tardy orders of the Circuit Courts have but feeble means of being executed, so that a majority of the decisions amount to a mere dead letter. No longer ago than last week, I witnessed a flogging and head-shaving by Lynch law. The culprit was tried and convicted by the *people* of receiving stolen horses, and his sentence was advocated or condemned in by several of the leading men of the Territory, though they deplored the necessity of such irregular proceedings in an enlightened age, on the ground that there is no suitable prison in the county in which such persons might be kept to serve the regular sentence of the law. We think we have the requisite population for a State.

Though there is at present, temporarily, rather a revulsion in the tide to Pike's Peak—a revulsion which is quite natural after the extravagant gold fever of last spring—we are well satisfied that there is gold in our Territory in quantities which will repay honest toil, perhaps not better, but as well as other channels of industry, when fairly developed. This fact, in connection with the others of our fertile soil and mild climate, will put our population beyond question by the meeting of the next Congress, when the enemies of Kansas will no longer have an excuse for keeping her out of the Union, and *dare* not oppose her admission *while collecting electioneering capital for the approaching Presidential contest.*

There are now but few places under the new State organization. You have some of their names in your issue of June 2d. But one prominent name you omitted—the name of A. Lawrence, late Speaker of the House in the Territorial Legislature, has been announced by some as the very man for Governor of the new State. His experience and his tried fidelity have made him popular. Be sure that, in any event, the young State will be "all right."

Yours, &c., F. Grube.

ARRIVAL OF THE STEAMER PERSIA.

Another Austrian Reverse.

New York, June 21, 9 *P. M.*—The steamer Persia has arrived from Liverpool, with dates to Saturday, 11th instant, three days later than the advices per Kangaroo.

The steamer Canada arrived out on the 9th instant, and the steamer Weser on the 10th.

The Persia passed the Canada for Liverpool on the 12th instant.

The United States frigate Cumberland was at Madeira on the 1st of June.

Later accounts from Italy, say the Austrians have met with another reverse, having been driven from Marignano, (a town of some 4,000 inhabitants, eleven miles southwest of Milan,) with the loss of 1,200 prisoners.

The Austrians were also retreating across the river Adda.

The British Ministry have been defeated in the House of Commons, by a majority of 13. It was expected they would resign on the 11th instant.

A British sloop of war had been capsized in a tornado on the African coast, and one hundred and seven lives were lost. The Captain and twenty-six of the crew were saved.

THE BATTLE OF BUFFALORA.

The following account is from the correspondent of the London *Times*, who was an eyewitness of the battle:

Despite the large concentration of French forces on the right bank of the Po, the Austrians took the largest part of their forces in that direction. When they were known to have taken the bait, the allied armies, all of a sudden, moved on the left, and crossed the river at Casteggio and Voghera, to their extreme left, at Vercelli, passed the Scsia there, and advanced to Novara, and thence to the Ticino. The movement was so rapid, that, before the Austrians were aware of it, the passage was outflanked them. They had only just time to draw out of the net which was spread for them, by retiring precipitately from Mortara; and now they are to bring up their troops in all haste from the Po, to meet the allies on the Ticino.

It seems they were too late for Turbigo, and had to be satisfied to throw out a body of a few thousand men from Milan, against the advance of the allies. Turbigo was carried and destroyed.

The French Grenadiers and Zouaves of the Guard, which were most advanced in that direction, attacked the position of Buffalora, which was strongly occupied by Austrians, some say with as many as 40,000 men. Despite of this numerical superiority, the four regiments, amounting to not more than 6,000 or 7,000 men, stormed the position after hard fighting and severe loss, just as the Sardinians came up. Greater efforts of determination could not to have done wonders, and General Claire, formerly Colonel of the Zouaves in the Crimea, was killed. The fighting continued till late at night.

THE BATTLE OF MAGENTA.

The following particulars of the battle of Magenta are extracted from a letter in the *Constitutionnel* of June 10th, written from Novara on June 9th, by M. Ernest Desjardins:

Yesterday, as the first battalions of the Voltigeurs of the Guard, after conquering in a first engagement at Turbigo, were pursuing their march towards Milan, it appears that 40,000 Austrians, on the left bank of the Ticino, were dismarched, and, confident in their numbers, advanced against our leading columns, hoping to turn them, and check the concentration of our army upon Milan. But they had not taken into their account the cool valor of the Grenadiers and Chasseurs of the Gnard, commanded by General Mellinet. This division rapidly got together between Buffalora and Magenta, not far from the spot where the Turcos fought, and they very soon showed a front to the enemy. Towards noon the Austrians, after hesitating for some time, decided to attack. The Zouaves and Grenadiers united did not make up more than 10,000 men, but without budging a foot they held their ground in the vaudeville against efforts of the 40,000 Austrians. The latter, surprised at such an obstinate resistance, retired in good order, formed again, and returned to the charge a second time. They might as well have rushed against a brazen rampart. Towards noon the Austrians, after hesitating for some time, decided to attack. The Zouaves and Grenadiers united did not make up more than 10,000 men, but without budging a foot they held their ground in the vaudeville against efforts of the 40,000 Austrians. The latter, surprised at such an obstinate resistance, retired in good order, formed again, and returned to the charge a second time. They might as well have rushed against a brazen rampart. The guard soon became tired of this passive attitude, and resolved to take the offensive. It charged and sustained the enemy. But the latter, perceiving how small were the numbers of the French, came up again and again. Seven times in the course of two hours were these heroic charges renewed. The Grenadiers and Zouaves were electrified by the presence of the Emperor, his sword in hand, supported and directed them.

The Emperor, however, was frequently seen to turn his eyes toward the points where, pursuant to his orders and calculations, he expected to see the divisions of Niel and McMahon make their appearance. They arrived, and were saluted with a long bravo, which astonished and disconcerted the enemy. General McMahon advanced to Magenta with an ardor, a dash, and an enthusiasm, which was the admiration of the whole army. At the moment when his attacking column was crossing the bridge, General Espinasse, who was leading it with his well-known intrepidity, was unfortunately struck by a ball in the very centre of his breast. He must have died instantly. On seeing him fall, the soldiers, quite beside themselves, rushed forward to avenge his death. Nothing could stop them—on, on they went, sweeping away every obstacle; and after completely routing the enemy, they effected their junction with the Imperial Guard, which was all the while commanded by the Emperor in person. The battle was gained. Marshal Canrobert and General Regnault de Saint Jean d'Angely had done wonders on their side. We were masters of the field. I hear that the Emperor warmly congratulated the new Duke of Magenta, to whom he attributed a large share in the success of the day. The Emperor did not shrink from exposing himself during the action, and more than once General Fleury threw himself before him, braving, with a devotion which all admired, though all were ready to do the same, the bullets which threatened his Majesty.

The combat at Magenta was terrible. The enemy defended this village with obstinacy. On both sides it was felt this was the key of the position. Our troops took it house by house, and put more than 10,000 Austrians *hors du combat*. General McMahon made about 5,000 prisoners, among whom were an entire regiment, the Second Chasseurs a Pied, commanded by Colonel Hauser. But the General's corps itself suffered much; 1,500 of his men were killed or wounded. In the attack on the village, General Espinasse and Lieutenant Froidefond fell, mortally wounded. Like them, Colonel Drouhot, of the Sixty-fifth of the Line, and Colonel Chabriere, of the Second Foreign Regiment, fell at the head of their troops.

On the other side, the division Vinoy and Renault performed prodigies of valor, under the orders of Marshal Canrobert and General Niel. Vinoy's divisions, which left Novare in the morning, had only just arrived at Trecate, where it was to bivouac, when it was sent for by the Emperor. It advanced rapidly (*a pas de course*) as far as Ponte di Magenta, driving the enemy from his positions, and taking more than 1,000 prisoners; but becoming engaged with superior forces, it sustained severe loss: eleven of its officers were killed, and fifty wounded; 650 sub-officers and soldiers were put *hors du combat*. The Eighty-fifth of the Line especially suffered; its commanding officer was killed, fighting bravely at the head of his regiment, and other superior officers were wounded. General Martimprey was struck by a ball as he was leading his brigade.

The troops of Marshal Canrobert also sustained regretable loss. Colonel de Seansville, the chief of his staff, was killed at his side. Colonel Charlier, of the Ninetieth, fell, mortally wounded struck by five balls, and several officers of Renault's division were placed *hors du combat*, while the village of Ponte di Magenta was taken seven times in succession.

Finally, about 8½ in the evening, the French army remained master of the field of battle, and the enemy withdrew, leaving in our hands four guns, of which two were taken by the Grenadiers of the Guard, two flags, and seven thousand prisoners. The number of Austrians placed *hors du combat* may be estimated at about 20,000. On the field of battle, 12,000 muskets and 30,000 knapsacks have been picked up.

MOVEMENTS OF THE BELLIGERENTS.

The Austrians have retreated beyond the river Adda. Their headquarters were near Cremona at last accounts.

The Austrians were driven from Marignano by General Barraguay d'Hilliers, who took twelve hundred prisoners.

Five hundred Zouaves were killed or wounded at Marignano. The Austrians lost 1,500 men, and had 1,200 made prisoners. The battle lasted nine hours.

The armies were preparing for another general engagement.

The official Austrian correspondence of the 10th states that the Austrian army was continuing its retreat beyond the Adda, and that its headquarters were at Cavattigozzi, before Cremona.

A special dispatch to the London *Times* says that on the 8th, the second Austrian army had its headquarters at Codegno, on the Adda.

The *King* issued a proclamation to the Lombards, saying, their independence having been secured, a regime liberal and durable would be established. He eulogizes Napoleon, and calls on the Lombards to join them on the battle field.

The London *Post's* Paris correspondent says that over 4,000 of the prisoners taken from the Austrians have died since the earliest opportunity to give themselves up. They were always placed in front, and threatened by the Croats in the rear if they did not fight well. Many offered to join the allies, but have not been accepted.

The Swiss Government has ordered the immediate fortification of their Austrian frontiers.

Three Austrian armed transports, with vessels in tow, had been stopped in the Swiss waters and confiscated.

The Emperor of Austria has issued a proclamation to his subjects in Tyrol and Zovalberg, calling them to arms to defend the most righteous cause for which the sword was ever drawn. He says that Austria has not only not outflanked them, but has only just time to draw out of the net which was spread for them, by retiring precipitately from Mortara; and now they are to bring up their troops in all haste from the Po, to meet the allies on the Ticino.

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

The facts narrated below furnish the most unquestionable evidence that the maxim of Chief Justice Taney, which asserts that "black men have no rights which white men are bound to respect," is a practical fact in the District of Columbia:

On the 28th day of March last, Emanuel Mason (free colored man of this city, and District of Columbia) was tried and convicted, in the Criminal Court of this city and District, on the grave charge of "harboring and entertaining slave boy Ben, in February last, for one hundred hours!" The indictment contained three counts, under some old barbarous colonial law, concocted and devised by whom, nobody knows—long since obsolete and forgotten, for its nominal date is 1707, nearly 100 years before the American Revolution; and the *fine*, under said old "BRITISH ACT," was "*one hundred pounds of tobacco per hour for the two hundred hours!*"

The facts in the case are these: Said Mason and his wife were once the slaves of Miss Sally or Sarah Forrest, and all resided near Marlboro', Md. Some years since, said Emanuel Mason was taken sick, and was confined with inflammatory rheumatism, and was, by the doctors, given up as incurable. In this condition he offered to sell him for $100, but no one would buy him. After a long while, he began to get a little better, and his mistress then offered him for $300, but nobody would buy him. Then the mistress told Mason that she would sell him to himself for the $300, and he might pay her by instalments. He did agree to buy himself, and has since paid all of the $300 purchase money.

In the mean time, he has partially recovered his health and strength, has *hired* his wife by the month and by the year, kept house, and raised several children at his own expense; and as soon as they have arrived at a proper age to be of service—say at about ten years—these children have all been taken from him and put to service, or sold, by his late mistress, who is still the mistress of his wife. About six years since, the said Mason moved to Washington with his slave wife, where the mistress had taken up her residence. He brought with him *the last* three children of *his* family, bone of his bone and blood of his blood, but the mistress claimed them as *her* property, although all reared at Mason's expense. The oldest of the three—an active girl, now about fourteen years of age—was taken away four or five years since; the next, a boy, was taken about two or three years since. *Then* there was left only "LITTLE BEN," now about ten years old, if alive!

No doubt the father *felt* that affection for the child which kind nature prompted. About one year since, or perhaps more, the mistress took the wife (and mother) home to her own house, leaving only "*little Ben*" with the aged father, and mason said the boy was treated well by *her* and also. Then, how appropriate the language of poor old Jacob, (Israel), "Me have ye bereaved of my children; Joseph is not, and Simeon is not, and ye will take Benjamin away!" And in Scripture language, "Benjamin was arrested, which Mr. Sturge on his return to England laid before the parliamentary committee. The substance of it was afterwards published in a volume, entitled "A West Indies in 1837, by John Sturge and Thomas Harvey Tylor, &c." Mr. Sturge was mainly instrumental in procuring the act of Parliament by which Slavery in every form was declared to be abolished in the British dominions.

On his way home from the West Indies he visited New York, to form an acquaintance with the leading Abolitionists of the United States, and to inquire into the state of American Slavery.

The Anti-Corn League in its early days was deeply indebted to Mr. Sturge, who was the intimate friend of the distinguished leader in that great enterprise, Mr. Richard Cobden. Immediately on his return to England, at the request of the latter, Mr. Sturge took up the extension of the suffrage, being the President of "The British Complete Suffrage Association," and the following year contested the borough of Nottingham. He failed in the election, but it was against powerful opposition, and the lavish appliances of money and liquor, neither of which would Mr. Sturge permit to be used on his behalf. So consistent was he in prac tising the principles he avowed that after winning both him and Mr. Vincent his hospitality, his money, and his open friendship. Both of these young men were persons of good character, good principles, and extraordinary abilities. Though frowned upon by the Government and aristocracy, "the common people heard them gladly."

In politics, Mr. Sturge was the friend and coadjutor of Cobden, Bright, and their associates, whose general policy he approved, though he did not servilely follow any leader. He went for universal suffrage, limiting it, however, as I believe, to those who could read and write, and opposing all property qualifications in electors. Though a loyal subject, he was democratic in all his views, hating shams of every sort in politics or religion, and striving to rid his countrymen of all unnatural ties of church or state, of mammon or religion, that weighed down any portion of the people, especially the deserving poor.

He carried his peace principles to the extent of believing in the inviolability of human life, and opposing the employment of all armed force. At a time when Government was making preparations to enlist the young men of the country to supply the wasted ranks of the army in India, a recruiting officer was sent to Birmingham, who daily paraded the streets with his command and a band of music, while a show-bill was displayed on the walls of the Town Hall containing the following words: "Wanted—I am not one of those who despair of a beneficial reformation of public sentiment, which will purify the church as well as the State from this (Slavery) abomination." He expressed a hope that a second World's Convention would be held in London; he reminded Abolitionists that the struggle for universal liberty must be the death-blow to the horrid slave trade, to the foreign branch of which alone, he said, more than one thousand victims are daily sacrificed; and, in conclusion, expressed a hope that, if the bombast and folly of defenders of it trembled for his country when he remembered that God was just—should be realized, each Abolitionist might feel that no exertions on his part had been wanting to avert the Divine displeasure, and prevent even a few of those calamities which, in all ages, have rebuked the crimes of nations.

The second general Anti-Slavery Convention held in London, June, 1843, and the Peace Convention held in December 24, 1848, which were largely indebted to Mr. Sturge for their inciency and prosperous proceedings and termination. During the session of these bodies, which continued for two weeks, Mr. Sturge took furnished house in London, and hospitably entertained, daily, large numbers of members of the Convention, while in various other ways he generously contributed to the promotion of the great objects for which these assemblies met. Secretary, I must say, would establish a pusillanimous and detestable doctrine, unworthy of the American character, unworthy of the American people, and especially unworthy of this great and powerful Government, and which in principle involves a total surrender of all that was contended for in the war of 1812. *

"My views on this question may be thus summed up: When one plants himself under the protecting wing of the Constitution, by which he has pledged and sworn to support and defend, when he enrolls his name upon the ample folds of the stars and stripes of this great American Union, he has a right to go where ever the winds and waves may carry him; the eye of that eagle watches over his every step, that flag waves proudly over his head, whether he is upon land or upon water, in a palace or a cottage; and he has a right to travel through it interfere with his personal liberty, whilst he is engaged in lawful enterprise, and not offending against the criminal or penal code of that Power, dishonors that eagle, and disgraces that flag; and he appeals for his protection, since, if it does not afford him prompt relief and redress."

RECOLLECTIONS OF JOSEPH STURGE.

[The following tribute to the memory of an eminent British Reformer was communicated to the *Evening Post* by his friend, Mr. Lewis Tappan, of New York.]

In Remembrance of
JOSEPH STURGE,
Who Died on
THE 14TH OF FIFTH MONTH, 1859.
Aged 65 Years.

Such is the inscription on a card just received from Birmingham, England. In the removal of this eminent philanthropist to a better world, his native land has been deprived of one of its best men, and it may be said, without exaggeration, that the world is a loser by this sad event. Though his affections were strongly centered in a happy home and congenial circle, he was not unmindful of the claims of humanity to all men. He might have said, Wherever there is human want to relieve, there is my country. Let us see.

Mr. Sturge was born of Quaker parents, at Elberton, near Bristol, August 2, 1793. His father was a farmer, and he was the sixth member of the family bearing in direct succession the name of Joseph Sturge, which he transmits to his only son, now about twenty-six. His first commenced business at Bewdley, on arriving at maturity, as a general dealer in grain, called, in England, corn-merchant, and afterwards, in 1822, settled at Birmingham. Here and at Bewdley, partnership with his brother, under the firm of Joseph and Charles Sturge, he continued to carry on the business until his death. The firm was recognised as one of the principal corn-dealing houses in the world, their sales occupying many millions, often amounting yearly to millions of dollars.

Though so largely engaged in business transactions, he devoted much of his time, and large portions of his wealth, to objects of private and general benevolence. He did them unostentatiously, but perseveringly, and his benevolent efforts took a wide range. His sympathies were especially with the poor, the enslaved, and all who needed a helper. He was distinguished by his great exertions against Slavery, on behalf of peace, in opposition to the corn-laws, in the promotion of the principles of total abstinence, in the establishment of Reformatory Schools, and for an enlargement of the elective franchise.

His first appearance in public life was in the year 1833, from which time, until the final abolition of Slavery in the British dominions, he was identified with Wilberforce, Clarkson, Brougham, Buxton, and others, helping the cause with his pen, tongue, and purse.

In 1834, he married Eliza, daughter of James Cropper, Esq., of Liverpool, and thus became related, by the nearest ties, to a family which that eminent man was the centre, and whose motto was, "to love every man, and to fear no man." This marriage, however, was of short duration. His wife and only child being removed by death, he devoted himself with renewed zeal to the cause of suffering humanity, and thus found a solace for his grief in administering to the necessities and assuaging the sorrow of others. His sister Sophia, to whom he was warmly attached, and who survived as a kindred spirit, was the counsellor, colleague, and ever-ready helpmate of her brother in all his multifarious designs for doing good, until 1845, when she was called to her rest. The Birmingham *Pilot* said of her: "Never, perhaps, were the active and passive virtues of the human character more harmoniously and beautifully blended than in this exalted woman."

Believing that the existence of Slavery was in fact a continuance of Slavery, he made a journey to the West India Islands in 1837, at his own cost, at the head of a deputation, to examine the state of the negro population. A large sum was raised by subscription for the object, which Mr. Sturge on his return to England laid before the parliamentary committee. The substance of it was afterwards published in a volume, entitled "A West Indies in 1837, by John Sturge and Thomas Harvey Tylor, &c." Mr. Sturge was mainly instrumental in procuring the act of Parliament by which Slavery in every form was declared to be abolished in the British dominions.

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Though frowned upon by the Government and aristocracy, "the common people heard them gladly."

In politics, Mr. Sturge was the friend and coadjutor of Cobden, Bright, and their associates, whose general policy he approved, though he did not servilely follow any leader. He went for universal suffrage, limiting it, however, as I believe, to those who could read and write, and opposing all property qualifications in electors. Though a loyal subject, he was democratic in all his views, hating shams of every sort in politics or religion, and striving to rid his countrymen of all unnatural ties of church or state, of mammon or religion, that weighed down any portion of the people, especially the deserving poor.

He carried his peace principles to the extent of believing in the inviolability of human life, and opposing the employment of all armed force. At a time when Government was making preparations to enlist the young men of the country to supply the wasted ranks of the army in India, a recruiting officer was sent to Birmingham, who daily paraded the streets with his command and a band of music, while a show-bill was displayed on the walls of the Town Hall containing the following words: "Wanted—I am not one of those who despair of a beneficial reformation of public sentiment, which will purify the church as well as the State from this (Slavery) abomination." He expressed a hope that a second World's Convention would be held in London; he reminded Abolitionists that the struggle for universal liberty must be the death-blow to the horrid slave trade, to the foreign branch of which alone, he said, more than one thousand victims are daily sacrificed; and, in conclusion, expressed a hope that, if the bombast and folly of defenders of it trembled for his country when he remembered that God was just—should be realized, each Abolitionist might feel that no exertions on his part had been wanting to avert the Divine displeasure, and prevent even a few of those calamities which, in all ages, have rebuked the crimes of nations.

The second general Anti-Slavery Convention held in London, June, 1843, and the Peace Convention held in December 24, 1848, which were largely indebted to Mr. Sturge for their inciency and prosperous proceedings and termination. During the session of these bodies, which continued for two weeks, Mr. Sturge took furnished house in London, and hospitably entertained, daily, large numbers of members of the Convention, while in various other ways he generously contributed to the promotion of the great objects for which these assemblies met. Secretary, I must say, would establish a pusillanimous and detestable doctrine, unworthy of the American character, unworthy of the American people, and especially unworthy of this great and powerful Government, and which in principle involves a total surrender of all that was contended for in the war of 1812. *

"My views on this question may be thus summed up: When one plants himself under the protecting wing of the Constitution, by which he has pledged and sworn to support and defend, when he enrolls his name upon the ample folds of the stars and stripes of this great American Union, he has a right to go where ever the winds and waves may carry him; the eye of that eagle watches over his every step, that flag waves proudly over his head, whether he is upon land or upon water, in a palace or a cottage; and he has a right to travel through it interfere with his personal liberty, whilst he is engaged in lawful enterprise, and not offending against the criminal or penal code of that Power, dishonors that eagle, and disgraces that flag; and he appeals for his protection, since, if it does not afford him prompt relief and redress."

RECOLLECTIONS OF JOSEPH STURGE.

[The following tribute to the memory of an eminent British Reformer was communicated to the *Evening Post* by his friend, Mr. Lewis Tappan, of New York.]

In Remembrance of
JOSEPH STURGE,
Who Died on
THE 14TH OF FIFTH MONTH, 1859.
Aged 65 Years.

Such is the inscription on a card just received from Birmingham, England. In the removal of this eminent philanthropist to a better world, his native land has been deprived of one of its best men, and it may be said, without exaggeration, that the world is a loser by this sad event. Though his affections were strongly centered in a happy home and congenial circle, he was not unmindful of the claims of humanity to all men. He might have said, Wherever there is human want to relieve, there is my country. Let us see.

Mr. Sturge was born of Quaker parents, at Elberton, near Bristol, August 2, 1793. His father was a farmer, and he was the sixth member of the family bearing in direct succession the name of Joseph Sturge, which he transmits to his only son, now about twenty-six. His first commenced business at Bewdley, on arriving at maturity, as a general dealer in grain, called, in England, corn-merchant, and afterwards, in 1822, settled at Birmingham. Here and at Bewdley, in partnership with his brother, under the firm of Joseph and Charles Sturge, he continued to carry on the business until his death. The firm was recognised as one of the principal corn-dealing houses in the world, their sales occupying many millions, often amounting yearly to millions of dollars.

Though so largely engaged in business transactions, he devoted much of his time, and large portions of his wealth, to objects of private and general benevolence. He did them unostentatiously, but perseveringly, and his benevolent efforts took a wide range. His sympathies were especially with the poor, the enslaved, and all who needed a helper. He was distinguished by his great exertions against Slavery, on behalf of peace, in opposition to the corn-laws, in the promotion of the principles of total abstinence, in the establishment of Reformatory Schools, and for an enlargement of the elective franchise.

His first appearance in public life was in the year 1833, from which time, until the final abolition of Slavery in the British dominions, he was identified with Wilberforce, Clarkson, Brougham, Buxton, and others, helping the cause with his pen, tongue, and purse.

In 1834, he married Eliza, daughter of James Cropper, Esq., of Liverpool, and thus became related, by the nearest ties, to a family which that eminent man was the centre, and whose motto was, "to love every man, and to fear no man." This marriage, however, was of short duration. His wife and only child being removed by death, he devoted himself with renewed zeal to the cause of suffering humanity, and thus found a solace for his grief in administering to the necessities and assuaging the sorrow of others. His sister Sophia, to whom he was warmly attached, and who survived as a kindred spirit, was the counsellor, colleague, and ever-ready helpmate of her brother in all his multifarious designs for doing good, until 1845, when she was called to her rest. The Birmingham *Pilot* said of her: "Never, perhaps, were the active and passive virtues of the human character more harmoniously and beautifully blended than in this exalted woman."

Believing that the existence of Slavery was in fact a continuance of Slavery, he made a journey to the West India Islands in 1837, at his own cost, at the head of a deputation, to examine the state of the negro population. A large sum was raised by subscription for the object, which Mr. Sturge on his return to England laid before the parliamentary committee. The substance of it was afterwards published in a volume, entitled "A West Indies in 1837, by John Sturge and Thomas Harvey Tylor, &c." Mr. Sturge was mainly instrumental in procuring the act of Parliament by which Slavery in every form was declared to be abolished in the British dominions.

On his way home from the West Indies he visited New York, to form an acquaintance with the leading Abolitionists of the United States, and to inquire into the state of American Slavery.

The Anti-Corn League in its early days was deeply indebted to Mr. Sturge, who was the intimate friend of the distinguished leader in that great enterprise, Mr. Richard Cobden. Immediately on his return to England, at the request of the latter, Mr. Sturge took up the extension of the suffrage, being the President of "The British Complete Suffrage Association," and the following year contested the borough of Nottingham. He failed in the election, but it was against powerful opposition, and the lavish appliances of money and liquor, neither of which would Mr. Sturge permit to be used on his behalf. So consistent was he in practising the principles he avowed that after winning both him and Mr. Vincent his hospitality, his money, and his open friendship. Both of these young men were persons of good character, good principles, and extraordinary abilities.

THE NATIONAL ERA.
WASHINGTON, D. C.
G. BAILEY, *Editor and Proprietor.*
D. R. GOODLOE, *Assistant Editor.*
J. G. WHITTIER, *Corresponding Editor.*

Vol. XIII. January, 1859.

The *National Era* is about to enter upon its Thirteenth volume.

Twelve years ago, when the Discussion of the Question of Slavery was perpetually prohibited in this District, the *Era* was commenced for the purpose of saving and defending the Rights of Discussion, and of giving fair expression to Anti-Slavery Sentiments. In the House of Representatives, John Quincy Adams and Joshua R. Giddings alone gave it moral support; in the Senate, it found not a single well wisher; while outside of Congress it stood here, solitary and unsustained, under ban and menace. A conflict followed, in which an excited populace undertook to suppress it by violence, but it resisted the storm, maintained its position, and from that hour the Liberty of the Press was established in the District of Columbia.

Twelve years have passed, and to-day, the *Era* finds twenty an..ng the most distinguished members of the Senate, elected to carry out the Principles it was instituted to advocate, and the House almost controlled by Representatives, with whom it can consistently and heartily act as co-worker.

While the cause it has advocated has advanced so rapidly, I am constrained to say that the *Era*, since the advent of the Republican Party, has suffered somewhat in its circulation. Influences, perhaps, operate in opposition, but now united in the same movement, and an extensive Local Press, upholding kindred sentiments, naturally engross a large portion of Republican patronage.

This was to be expected, but still I think there are good reasons why the *Era* should continue to be sustained. It was the first Press to raise the standard of Freedom in the Capital of the Republic. For twelve years it has been identified with the Anti-Slavery movement, and especially represents the Anti-Slavery element of the Republican Party. Although independent of mere Party organization, it was the first paper to advocate a general union of the Opponents of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854, in a Party of Freedom; took a leading part in the formation of the Republican Party, and, while holding itself at liberty to blame what it considered blameworthy, has uniformly vindicated it as true to its Principles. It has never been a burden to its friends, never solicited, nor at any time would have been willing to receive, any kind of official or congressional patronage, has always been self-sustaining. From its friends, then, it asks a subscription that shall enable it to continue its labors, relieved by no such effort, and to continue to wield an influence which, I trust, has not been exerted for evil.

The coming year will be a critical one for the Republican cause. Strong efforts will be made to demoralize it, and accommodate it to the views of those, who, unwilling to support the Administration, do not yet appreciate the true nature or objects of our movement. Squatter Sovereignty, Know Nothingism, Secessionism, National Whiggery, are all working together for the construction of a platform, from which shall be excluded the Anti-Slavery Idea—that very element which gave birth and gives vitality to the Republican Party. Can the *Era* be dispensed with at such a period?

Able contributors have been secured to our columns; and with pleasure we announce the we have engaged as Assistant Editor, DANIEL R. GOODLOE, of North Carolina, one of the ablest writers in the country on the Question of Slavery.

The Literary Department of the paper will be carefully attended to. The two Stories now in course of publication, "*Herman*" and "*Jasper*," will furnish a rich entertainment to our readers, for several months to come.

The *Era* presents weekly a Summary of General News and Political Intelligence, keeps a careful record of the proceedings of Congress, and is the repository of a large portion of the most interesting speeches delivered in that body.

G. BAILEY.

Washington, D. C., Nov. 1, 1858.

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HAVING been frequently requested by friends to obtain their Government passports, the subscriber has declined to make this a portion of the business of his office, unless Dollars will be the charge for procuring a passport, and One Dollar in addition will be charged for obtaining the seal of a Foreign Minister. On receipt of the requisite fee, the necessary papers, accompanied by full directions, will be promptly forwarded by mail.

Attention is called to the subjoined extracts from an official circular. Office for Patents,

Z. C. ROBBINS.

OFFICE FOR PATENTS,
Washington, D. C., April, 1859.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, August, 1857.

Citizens of the United States visiting foreign countries are liable to serious inconvenience, if unprovided with authentic proof of their national character. Their sent subregard is a passport from this Department, certifying the bearer to be a citizen of the United States.

Persons who leave the country, expecting to obtain passports while abroad, from the diplomatic or Consular agents of the United States, are liable to disappointment; inasmuch as it is the duty of those agents not in every instance to grant passports, except to persons who are certainly known to be entitled to them; and it frequently happens that they require the fullest proof of this fact in a foreign country.

In the case of citizenship or passports issued by State authorities, or by Judicial or Municipal functionaries of the United States, are not recognised by the officers of foreign Governments. Hence the absolute necessity of the act of Congress approved on the 18th of August last, which makes it unlawful for such authorities and functionaries to issue such passports. 644

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